

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0046

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0737

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CH, PINT

SUBJ: FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PRC

REF: (A) STATE 30375(NOTAL) (B) USNATO 0614(NOTAL)

1. AT FEB 11 POLADS, U.S. REP (LEDOGAR) SAID MISSION EXPECTED TO PROVIDE ITS ANALYSIS ON THE PRC FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS THIS WEEK.

2. GERMAN REP (CITRON) CIRCULATED FOLLOWING SPEAKING NOTES ON THIS SUBJECT:

BEGIN TEXT

1. THE LONG-EXPECTED IVTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS TOOK PLACE IN STRICT SECRECY FROM 5 TO 17 JANUARY, THE OFFICIAL SESSION LASTING FROM 13 TO 17 JANUARY.

2. BY VIRTUE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1954, THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS - THE "GREATEST ORGAN OF NATIONAL POWER"-HAS UP TO NOW THEORETICALLY HAD VERY WIDE POWERS, SUCH AS THE RIGHT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION WITH A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY, THE
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APPOINTMENT AND DISMISSAL OF MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BUREAUCRACY WITH A SIMPLE MAJORITY, THE ENACTMENT OF LAWS, DECISIONS ABOUT ECONOMIC PLANS AND AMNESTIES AS WELL AS ABOUT QUESTIONS AFFECTING WAR AND PEACE. IN REALITY, HOWEVER, THE

CONGRESS LOST MUCH OF ITS POWER DURING THE LAST 20 YEARS.
CONGRESSES HAVE ONLY BEEN ELECTED IN 1954, 1959 NAD 1964.

3. THE MEETING OF THE IVTH CONGRESS HAD BEEN LONG OVERDUE. IT HAD SEVERAL TIMES BEEN ANNOUNCED BY THE CHINESE AS IMMINENT. POLITICAL CRISES DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, LIN PIAO'S FALL IN 1971 AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM AND CONFUCIUS IN 1973/74 PREVENTED THIS. NEITHER IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP NOR IN THE PROVINCES WAS IT POSSIBLE TO SETTLE THE PERSONNEL AND SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS TO ENSURE THE SMOOTH RUNNING OF THE CONGRESS. THUS, THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS TOOK PLACE AT ALL REPRESENTS A SUCCESS OF THE CENTRAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP. MORE PARTICULARLY, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A SUCCESS FOR THOSE POLITICAL FORCES WHICH ADVOCATE THE FURTHER STABILIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS UNHINDERED BUILD-UP, ESPECIALLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE JUST AS WRONG AS IN THE PAST TO UNDERESTIMATE THE STRENGTH OF THOSE FORCES WHICH ASPIRE TO THE "PERMANENT CHANGE OF SOCIETY" WITHIN THE MEANING OF MAOIST ORTHODOXY AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.

4. AS FAR AS THE LEADERSHIP IS CONCERNED, THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT DECISIONS MAY BE EMPHASIZED:

CHOU EN-LAI REMAINS PRIME MINISTER, THUS RETAINING A POSITION WHICH HE HAS OCCUPIED FOR 25 YEARS. IN SPITE OF HIS ILLNESS WHICH HAS BEEN KNOWN SINCE MAY 1974, CHOU TOOK PART IN THE CONGRESS. THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER HE WILL IN FUTURE TAKE A MORE ACTIVE PART IN DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES OR WHETHER HE WILL, AS IN THE PAST, ONLY DEVOTE HIS ATTENTION TO THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS. THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS FROM FIVE TO TWELVE MAY INDICATE A DESIRE TO RELIEVE THE PRIME MINISTER OF A FURTHER PART OF HIS WORKLOAD; THIS IS ALSO BORNE OUT BY THE FACT THAT VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, WHO HAS JUST BEEN NOMINATED ONCE AGAIN FOR THE HIGHEST PARTY OFFICES BY THE SECOND PLENUM (HE IS ALSO ONE OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMITTEE OF THE POLITBUREAU) WAS APPOINTED FIRST DEPUTY TO CHOU. HIS POSITION IN THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY IS NOW SUCH THAT, IN CASE OF CHOU'S DEPARTURE, HARDLY ANYBODY CAN DENY HIM THE SUCCESSORSHIP.

5. CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, WHO - IN ADDITION TO MADAME MAO - IS REGARDED AS THE MAIN EXPONENT OF THE "SHANGHAI LINE", HAS NOW BEEN APPOINTED SECOND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER. THUS, ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FORCES WHICH CAME TO THE FOREGROUND DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HAS FOUND HIS PLACE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH MAY BE A SIGN OF THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH SOME BALANCE BETWEEN THE "MODERATE" AND THE "RADICALS". THIS BALANCE HAD ALREADY EMERGED AT THE XTH PARTY CONGRESS

BUT HAD AGAIN BEEN CALLED INTO QUESTION BY THE LIN-PIAO AND
ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN.

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6. THE POST OF THIRD DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IS HELD BY LI HSIEN-
NIEN, WHO HAD UP TO NOW SHARED THE JOB OF DEPUTIZING FOR CHOU WITH
TENG HSIAO-PING. LI IS REGARDED AS ONE OF THE BEST ECONOMIC
AND FINANCIAL EXPERTS OF THE PARTY.

7. MARSHAL YEN CHIEN-YING WAS APPOINTED THE NEW MINISTER OF
DEFENCE. HE SUCCEEDS THE FALLEN LIN PIAO AND OCCUPIES ONE OF
THE KEY POSTS OF THE REGIME. HE IS AN OLD VETERAN OF MAO'S
FIRST CAMPAIGNS BUT IS ALSO SAID TO ENJOY CHOU'S SPECIAL
CONFIDENCE. THE FILLING OF THE POST OF DEFENCE MINISTER WAS
ONE OF THE MEASURES WHICH HAD BEEN EXPECTED OF THE PEOPLE'S
CONGRESS AND FROM WHICH CONCLUSIONS ARE BEING EXPECTED WITH
REGARD TO THE CHINESE MILITARY POLICY AND ON THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE ARMED FORCES.

8. IN ADDITION TO CHOU AND HIS TWELVE DEPUTIES, THE COUNCIL OF
STATE COMPRISES 29 MEMBERS. THE VACANCIES WHICH HAD ARISEN
DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HAVE NOW BEEN FILLED. IT IS
NOTEWORTHY THAT THE TWO COMMITTEES FOR SCIENCE AND EDUCATION
AND FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS UNDER THE COUNCIL OF STATE HAVE BEEN
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ABOLISHED AND THAT THESE ACTIVITIES ARE NOW AGAIN BEING
HANDLED BY MINISTERS.

9. THE PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HAS CREATED A NEW PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF 144 PERSONS AND A NEW PRESIDUM OF 22 PERSONS. THE POST OF "PARLIAMENTARY PRESIDENT" CONTINUES TO BE HELD BY 89-YEAR-OLD CHU TE.
END TEXT.

3. DUTCH REP (DE RYCK) CIRCULATED FOLLOWING SPEAKING NOTES ON SAME SUBJECT:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE CONGRESS TOOK PLACE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE SUCCESSION OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG AND PRIME MINISTER CHOU EN LAI. WHILE REAFFIRMING THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP IN ITS POSITION, A COLLECTIVE OF 12 VICE PREMIERS WAS INSTALLED, AIMING AT A FUTURE TAKE-OVER.

2. A TENDENCY TOWARDS MORE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND SHARED RESPONSIBILITY APPEARED AT DIFFERENT LEVELS. COMMUNES AND REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES, RESULTING FROM THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HAVE BEEN INSTITUTIONALISED. AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL THE FUNCTION OF PRESIDENT WAS ABOLISHED AND REPLACED IN FACT BY THE PERMANENT COMMISSION OF THE NPC. AT THE LOWER LEVEL THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES WILL FUNCTION AS LOCAL PEOPLES CONGRESSES AND AS SUCH CONTROL AMONG OTHER THINGS THE JUDICIARY.

3. THE SUPERVISION OF THE PARTY OVER THE ARMY WAS INCREASED BY THE NOMINATION OF CHAIRMAN MAO AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, AS WELL AS BY THE APPOINTMENTS OF HIGH PARTY OFFICIALS TO LEADING ARMY POSITIONS.

4. THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS MORE TOTALITARIAN THAN THE PREVIOUS ONE AS THE FREEDOM AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE INDIVIDUAL ARE INCREASINGLY INCORPORATED IN THE FRAMEWORK SET BY THE PARTY.

5. CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY REMAINS TO BE BASED ON THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH COUNTRIES OF A DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRUCTURE. PRIME MINISTER CHOU EN LAI PLEDGED IN HIS SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (E.G. VIETNAM, CAMBODIA AND THE PALESTINIANS). POSSIBILITIES OF
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COOPERATION WITH THE USA AND JAPAN WERE UNDERLINED. THE EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION WAS REMOVED FROM THE CONSTITUTION.
END TEXT.BRUCE

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